the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to remain he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognized as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home. 985

The rice ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to cohabit (if the wife has previously been with other men, for the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents. So pressure for the rice ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The rice ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each girl being named as is prominent to her. She herself keeps some of them and they are taken by the girls of the rice party from her parents' village. [934]

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband calls his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to build an ot - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut (simbi). Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT (LUO)

The Luo practice extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation. 576 606

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2) 606 [934]

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is 776

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XI, p.161. (2) *Ibid.*

with *dhu* she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the 587
nyoota is the *levirate*, the raising up *of seed* to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be supported. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *tiere* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jaumo*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's *ghost* is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a marriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *jater*. His brother is only their *gamer*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the beginning (*ahar nyoth ne ahar ndeg*). Also, one does not use the verb *donde*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *aora ne odiga*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ot dond*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Law

Luo practise very extensive *avoidance*, as part of a general attitude of respect (*luor*), 606
of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kwaro* (my in-laws). If a man meets 576
either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. [611]
A man who neglects these rules is said to be *nengadi*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *wen*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the *rules of avoidance* are relaxed and as the years 606
go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law 574
become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *siedo* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagwe* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kowago*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is alone but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

D. Ensaio-Pritchard E-6 (9194) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

The people of the home pass them to me, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a mouthful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a mouthful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Cloth

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a *siam* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, went naked, except when they were some small covering for ceremonial or public occasions, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *siam* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *siam*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *siam* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez la future épouse où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défiorée en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à son endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée retourne chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où la force l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

4: Hobley G-S (ca. 1908) 1912 FL11 Lno FL11

Personal marks, &c.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been long round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, &c.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be deeply hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which various patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as Jiketi, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mavuglia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Lue FL11

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten gets full, and when the girl returned to her husband's dale, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *ngwe dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wee dipo*. *Ngwe* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the dale. *Wee* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *ngwe* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wee* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the ngwe dipo she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The frame-work was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older women. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 591 591 604 595 604

8: Shaw C-9 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lue FL11

gamous tribes the women should be contented with a system that deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Lue wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I might say here that they are in all cases extremely heavy. There is little doubt that the premature aging that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Lue, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous.

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
● 604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period
593 they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother-in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*weya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

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It is among the *anyuola* segments subordinate to minimal *dhoudi*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *riso*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 33) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (98) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *anyuola* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the superordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 31, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *riso* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiru, a minimal *anyuola* segment. Osiru's two childless co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyatawa, Buore, Owira, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had issue by one wife only, the elementary family of Agalo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogweno together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *anyuola* of Kabiero within which the *riso* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *gweng'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kamboya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *anyuola* Kabiero, for *anyuola* Kamboya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Riso is said to be a *singruok* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *simbe* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *riso* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one foreleg for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *anyuola*. The senior living elder of *anyuola* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Aomo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *anyuola* segments of Buore, Owira, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his uterine brothers or to the eldest

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 31.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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sons of uterine brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dea, Nyagol, and Ogembo; Aomo to Ogwang' and to the eldest sons of Agalo and Oyuke who were dead; Ojuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *anyuola* of Ochieng'-Akoko except for that of Nyatawa, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as host, came last. The lineage of Ochieng'-Akoko has as its co-ordinates those of Mingusa, Okun, Gaya, and Mboya. There were no representatives of Okun or Gaya present, but Randa and Omolo were there for Mingusa and Mboya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *anyuola* of Akoko-Mboya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *anyuola* of Ogweno, which was represented by Ogweno's senior grandson Osimbo, who took his portion to share it with Owade and Ogweno, younger brothers, and Obora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the entire structure of *anyuola* Kabiero (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'host' *anyuola* of Nyatawa, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Obware, Kasera, Osano, Orula, Awuor, Hezra Mboya, and Aluoch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *anyuola* of Osiru (V on the diagram) to the woman's uterine brothers Paulo Mboya,[1] Nyatawa, and Ogogo.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten raw on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

1. First foreleg: for the slaughterer, husband of the woman.
2. Second foreleg: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under 4).
3. First hindleg: (*a*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving uterine brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased uterine brothers;
   (*b*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
   (*c*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the heads of the houses of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agalo was the only wife of Akoko-Mboya.)
4. Second hindleg: for the woman's mother and her sons.
5. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mboya was Chief of Karachuonyo from 1935 to 1946, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Local Native Council of South Kavirondo. In 1948 he was appointed to represent Kenya Africans on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply indebted to him for much kind assistance during my stay in Karachuonyo.

[2] These were *kuow* (hump), *tiend ng'ut* (chine), *tiend ogero* (rump), *chiw*, and *adudo*. *Oho*, *adundo*, and *awiyo* are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of *bub*—roasting by holding them over the open fire.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riso*. 613 782 769

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. 613 574 273 [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index 613 574 576

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VI

MARRIED LIFE

With the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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